

JOURNAL
OF
LIEUTENANT ISAAC BANGS
1776

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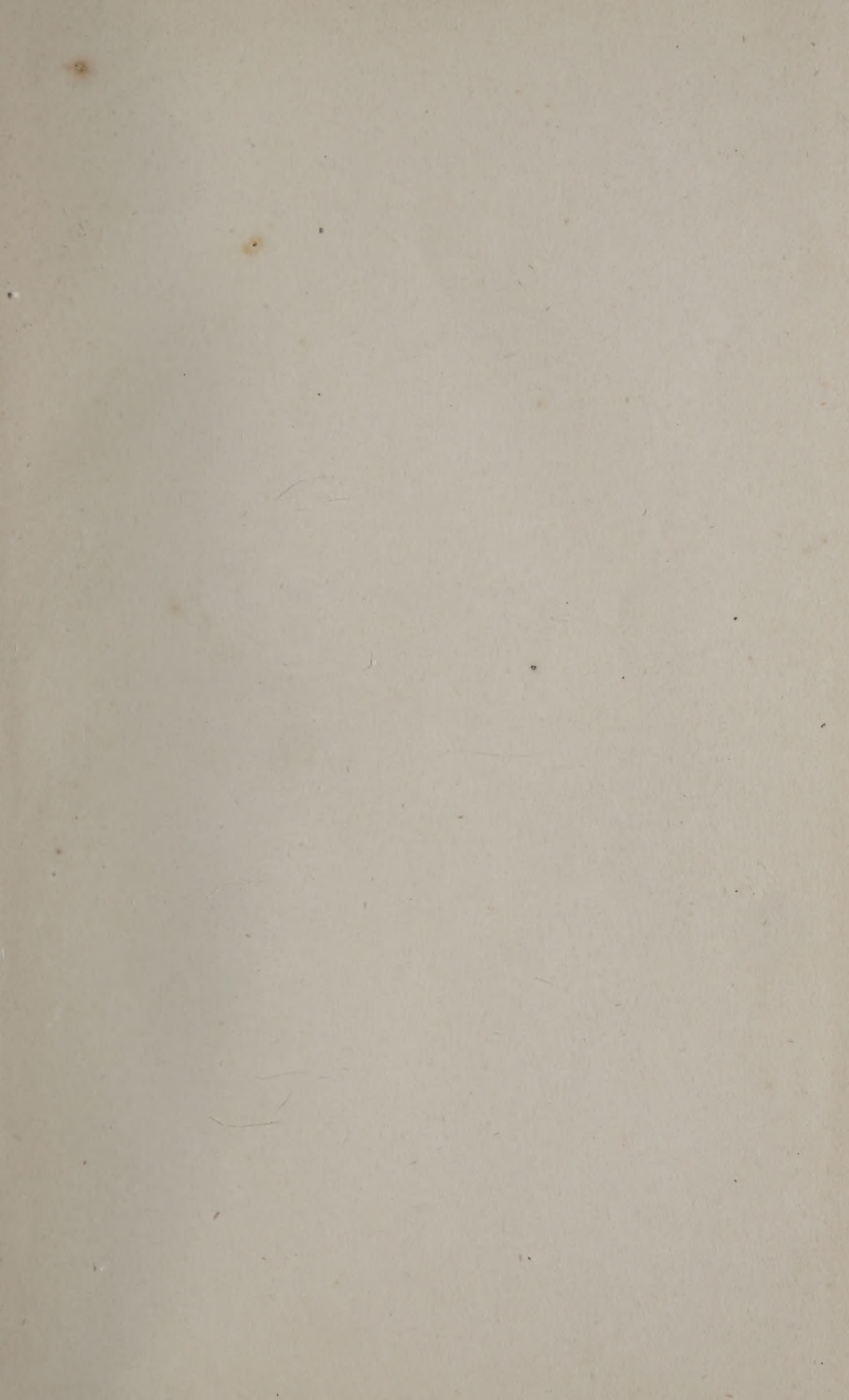
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JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT ISAAC BANGS.

JOURNAL
OF
LIEUTENANT ISAAC BANGS,
APRIL 1 TO JULY 29,
1776.

EDITED BY
EDWARD BANGS.

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B

PREFACE.

I HAVE had an edition of one hundred copies of this journal of my great-uncle printed, not so much because it has any particular historical value as because it gives a rather quaint picture of the social life of the time, and shows, at first hand, something of the feelings that actuated the conduct of the young patriots of that day,—feelings which, with regard to the poor, persecuted Tories, seem now rather exaggerated,—while, as to “the man George,” we, whose masters chastise us with scorpions, incline to look back upon his feeble whip with a sad sense of regret, and to be not a little amused at the way in which our ancestors worked themselves up into complaining so loudly and so bitterly of impositions, trifling indeed compared to those to which we submit in meek silence.

Of the writer of the journal I am not able to give much information, though I have sought for it diligently.

Isaac⁶ Bangs (Benjamin⁵, Edward⁴, Edward³, Jonathan², Edward¹) was born at Harwich in Massachusetts on the 11th of December, 1752. He was the second son of Benjamin⁵ and Desire (Dillingham) Bangs. He descended, on the father's side, from Edward Banges, who came to Plymouth in the “Ann” in July, 1623; and on the mother's side, from Edward Dillingham, of Bitteswell, England, who was, in 1637, of Sandwich, in Massachusetts.

In the Diary of Lieut. Isaac's father, Benjamin⁵, may be found an occasional mention of his name; as, for instance,—

“1764, April 21th On the 17th Day Instant my Isaac, John Dillingham, and Sam^l Nye began Schooling at Mr. Dunster's, at £3:6:8 each per Year.”

The reverend gentleman was certainly not too highly paid; but he managed to get two of his three pupils — Isaac Bangs and Samuel Nye — into Harvard College. They took their degrees in 1771. This class was the last but one in which the names were arranged, in the Triennial, in the order of social position or family rank. (See 8 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., pp. 32-37, for Mr. Sibley's account of that custom; and 9 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., p. 252, for the case of Samuel Phillips, of this very class of 1771, who, being aggrieved at his rating, got himself, by solemn vote, put seventh “between Vassall and Murray,” interesting because of the immense importance evidently attached to it by his father.)

Isaac Bangs stands twenty-eighth in a class of sixty-three, a very large class for those days, — the largest, in fact, that up to that time had ever graduated; nor did another so large graduate until 1810.

If the increased size of the classes at Harvard College be, as it seems that it must be, an indication of general prosperity, the period just before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War must have been a remarkably prosperous one, contrary although that theory be to the common belief. It was perhaps because Jeshurun had waxed fat that he kicked.

I have had the curiosity to look for the Loyalists of the class of 1771 in Sabine, and have found but four. They were among the highest in social position, being

Samuel Hirst Sparhawk	1 st in order.
Samuel Paine	4 th “ “
William Vassall	6 th “ “
Daniel Murray	8 th “ “

Isaac Bangs studied medicine after graduating, and had begun to practise his profession in his native town when the War of the Revolution broke out; and he joined the Continental Army as a Lieutenant in Colonel Cary's regiment on the 30th of January, 1776.

I find him mentioned in the Revolutionary Rolls at the State House as a Second Lieutenant in Colonel Cary's regiment, vol. xii. p. 65; vol. xxviii. p. 127.

In vol. xxxvii. p. 3:—

“An Arrangement of the several military Companys in the Second Regiment of Militia in the County of Barnstable.

3^d is the 1st Company in Harwich,
Benjamin Berry, Captain,
Nath. Freeman, 1st Lieut.
Isaac Bangs, 2^d Lieut.”

Endorsed,

“In Council, Ap. 20. 1776. Read and ordered that the within mentioned Officers be commissioned according to their respective ranks.

(Signed)

JOHN LOWELL, *Dep^y Sec^y*”

In vol. xxviii. p. 109, Isaac Bangs again appears as Second Lieutenant in the Second Regiment, April 20, 1776.

I find no further mention of him in the Army Rolls; but in the Naval Rolls, to which my attention was directed by my friend, the Hon. Josiah Paine, of Harwich, in vol. lii. p. 81 (Roll of the United States Frigate “Boston,” Capt. Samuel Tucker):—

“N^o 27. Isaac Bangs. Date of entry, March 8th, 1779. Doctor's Mate.”

This is the last trace I can find of him living. In the Family Record of the late Edward Dillingham Bangs is the following entry:—

“*Isaac Bangs*, born Dec. 11, 1752, died Sept. 12, 1780, unmarried. He was a Surgeon in the Revolutionary Army, and died while in service.”

His father had died some years before the Journal begins (Oct. 31, 1769).

His mother, who is sometimes referred to in it, lived until 1807.

The old house in which he had lived with his mother was standing in that part of Harwich incorporated in 1803 as Brewster until 1872, when the parish, to which it had been given by Benjamin ⁷ Bangs for a parsonage, pulled it down.

In that house the manuscript of this Journal was preserved until it was given to the editor, thirty or forty years ago. It has been copied by him *verbatim et literatim*, with all fidelity.

BOSTON, July, 1890.

JOURNAL

OF

LIEUTENANT ISAAC BANGS.

No. I. — *Minutes of a Journal by ISAAC BANGS; begun
April 1, 1776.*

HAVING been in the Service of the united Colonies as a Lieu^t in Capt. Benjamin Godfrey's Company in Colⁿ Carys Regiment of Militia for about 2 months, in which many glorious Achievements were performed and great Glory added to the Arms of the Americans by the Expulsion of the Ministerial Army from their Strong Holds in Boston, in which, according to my Station, I did my proportion of the fatigueing Duty which was requisite to perform the Manœuver which has brought an eternal shame and Disgrace upon the British Arms, I was fired with an ardent Zeal to be farther instrumental in the glorious Cause in which America is now engaged. With this View I entered Colⁿ John Bailey's Regiment as a Lieu^t to Cap^t Jacob Allen. In some future Time it may perhaps afford Pleasure to recollect past Toils; and being sensible of the Treachery of my Memory in recollecting past Events, I think it advisable to keep a few Minutes to assist a bad Memory (made worse by the Combustion of an Army) in bringing to Mind past Events. But before I enter upon this I must give a short detail of the Inducements that first brought me to the Army, & of some

of the material Events and Circumstances which happened during my continuance in Colⁿ Cary's Regiment. The Ministerial Army had for a long time (Viz., ever since the Battle of Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775) been invested by the American Army, which kept them closely confined to their Quarters in Boston, during which Time many and Various Manœuvres were practised on both sides to annoy their Enemies, the Circumstances of which it is not my Design to relate.

In the begin^g of January, 1775, it was thought best, if possible, to drive them from their Fortresses; & as the Lines of our Army were from necessity of a vast extent, & as it was of infinite Importance that each part should be well maintained, General Washington thought the American Army not sufficient to maintain the Lines, and at the same time to act offensively upon the Enemy. He applied to the Colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts Bay for a part of the Militia of each Province. The Proportion required & voted by the Assembly of this Province was 4,368 Men. Among these I inlisted about 30 of Jan.; and according to the Inlisting Orders we proceeded to chuse our Officers, and proceeded to Head Quarters. The Men which constituted our Company were chiefly from the Town of Chatham,—a very civil Set of People, with whom I lived very Quietly. On our arrival at Roxbury we found (by the Negligence of the Barrack Master) that no Barracks were provided for the Melitia. Our Company turned in at Roxbury Street for about 4 days, in old Houses & Cellars; but as we could no longer stand it thus Barracked, & finding no Confidence could be put in their Promises for better Barracks, we made complaint to our Colonels, and were by the Quarter Master provided for in Houses in Dorchester, about 4 Miles Distance, where we continued 9 Days; during which Time

great Preparations were making for some new Enterprize, such as Fashienes, Gaboreenes, Barracks ready Framed, & boards cut. All imagined that Dorchester Hill was the Object of our Attention. This Hill is Situate South from Boston about a Mile & an Half, and by Nature seemed formed for the Command of Boston ; & not only so, but it commanded a place called Nook Point, about Half way from that place to Boston, — a most convenient place for either Bombarding or Cannonading the Town of Boston. Our Enemies had been long determined to take possession of these Places, as they not only prevent our taking them, but would also be an advantageous Scituation for a Part of their Army. The deep Frost prevented our proceeding till the Evening of the 4 of March, when about 21 Hundred men from Gen^{ls} Spencer's & Thomas Brigades (which were both stationed at Roxbury), all things being prepared & previously conveyed to the Causeway that leads to the Neck on which the Hill stands, proceeded at about 8 o'clock in the Evening to work upon the Hills, and were relieved at 3 the next Morning by the rest part of our two Brigades, consisting of about 25 Hundred, besides 500 Rifle Men from Cambridge & Roxbury. But here I must not leave unnoticed a grand piece of Generalship which preceded our going upon the Hills. On the Evening of the 2 of March the General (knowing all things were nearly prepared for the Work) gave Orders for beginning a Cannonading & Bombardment of the Town, in order to divert the Enemy that they need not be mistrustfull of our Scheme, as they would possibly if they had notice of our proceedings either annoy us while working with their Cannon or perhaps might come out with their Army before the Work was finished. The Cannonading & Bombarding began from Prospect Hill about 12 o'clock in the Night of the 2 of March, as also from Leechmore's Point, from the Fortress on

Cobble Hill, & from the Lines at Roxbury ; the enemy Returned the Compliment to the Former Places, but as they had previously removed their Cannon (as we afterwards imagin'd) from their Lines on the Neck, they were not so Complaisant to us at Roxbury. I must also here observe that the day before this the General ordered all the Forces that for conveniency were stationed back to be removed down to the Lines as nigh as possible, and that in consequence of this our Company was that day removed and Barracked in one of the Out Houses of what is called the Hutchinson House, near the Line that separateth Roxbury from Dorchester. A Room was provided for the Officers near by, and we thaught ourselves happy in being so well provided for in such a Croud of both officers and men. In the Even^g of the 3^d the rout began again, and we at Roxbury found that they were not so neglectfull of us as on the night before.

In the Evening of the 4th, as I before mentioned, our Men went upon the Hill to work, upon which a more Furious Fire was began than ever, and returned by the Enemy with eequal Vigour, chiefly upon Roxbury, not mistrusting our People upon the Hill, though it was a very Light Moonshine Evening. 23 Men from our Company went this Evening, and I had a warrant to parrade at 3 in the Morning to go with the Relief. Being anxious to see the Proceedings on both sides, I went to a small Battery of ours a little out of the Direction of their Shot and Bombs, where I tarried about two Hours, & thaught myself Safe ; for as the aforesaid Battery was made no use of by us they took no Notice of it, but it being something nigh the Range of our Right Hand Fort, their Shot which were aimed at that fort passed about 200 yards to the Westward of me, here I could see 4 & sometimes 5 of their Boms flying in the Air at a Time, aimed at the Right Hand Fort that they fell about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a Mile distance.

At Length a Shot which fell near the Fort by its fall took a different direction and came immediately where I was standing; it hopped after its first Falling about 4 times, & if it had hoped again before it broke, as its Velocity was diminishing, it would have come, as near as I can judge, to the very Spot where I was; it broke about 25 Yard Distance, and one of the Pieces came with great rapidity about 2 Yards above my Head. The Fire still continued; but at about 3, when the Relieves of every Regiment to parade, God so ordered it that their Fire was a little abated, or in all probability they must have killed more of us, — one Lieut. Mayo being the only Man hurt; he had his thigh Shot off, of which he died the next Day. Upon our arrival upon the Hills (for we took possession of 2 by building Forts), I was prodigiously surprised to find the Vast works that had been carried on in so little Time. We relieved them, and they got off without being discovered by the Enemy, which was no small Favour both in our coming on & their going off, as the Causeway over which we had to pass was greatly exposed to their Fire from their Works on the Neck. When the Enemy discovered us in ye Morning they ceased firing upon Roxbury, and must be much shagriened to find they had fired so intently upon Roxbury when the Men were as they thought mostly on the Hills.

We expected a Salute immediately from their Ships in the Harbour as also from their Works, and they must have greatly annoyed us had they fired when our Forts were thus weak, being then little besides Fashiens about 6 Feet thick. However this was not their disign. They fired a few Shot upon us as we were seting the Fatigue Partys, and brok 6 or 8 small arms in our Rigiment; but as their Balls struck chiefly before they reached us, we could avoid them. The Enemy Imbarqued on Board Transports about 11 o'clock,

and were to have landed (as we after found) upon the Point under cover of the Shipping & of the Castle the next Night ; why they had not done it that Day, if ever they intended it, God only knows. For my part, I should have been willing to have receiv^d them either by night or Day, as we had a tolerable cover from Musquetry, and as to their Field Pieces they could not have brought them to bear because of the Sciituation of the ground. Had they been so rash they would in all probability have found the 5th of March, 1776, more Bloody on their Side than Preston made the same Day in 1770¹ on ours. In fine, I cant think it was ever their design more than to make a Parade. But they have a good excuse, for about 11 at night the most violent Storm of Wind & Rain mixed with Snow & Hail arose that ever I was exposed to. Having nothing to cover us excepting Apple Trees, wee stood it out till about 5 in the Morning, when wee were reliev^d. What I suffered this night I shall ever bear in mind, therefore need not here mention it. Had the enemy have been so foolish as to have attacked us upon the Hills, our People to the amount of about 5,000 Men stood by their Boats at Cambridge and were to have made a descent upon Boston, which they must have easily carried, as I since learn that Gen^l Howe at the Head of the Remainder of his Troops was to have made an attack upon our Lines at Roxbury. Had this been the Case, what a woefull Scituation must he have been in, even if he had forced the Lines with our Forces on each Side!

When the Forts were a little finished our People began to make preparations for Nooke Point, before mentioned, by carting Fashienes, &c., in the Face of the Day as nigh the Place as the Scituation would allow (there being a Mire betweene that & the Forts). This place is about $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile distant from the Centre of the Tcwn, and as convenient a place

¹ The Boston Massacre.

as could even have been wished for from which to through Bombs to the Town. The Enemy, discovering our Motions by this imprudent Step, concluded that we should be at work that Night, therefore they began a most Heavy Fire from the Shipping in the Harbour, from several of the Wharves, & from several Batteries; such a Firing was never before heard in New England. They kill^d 4 Men with one Ball, which was all the Dammage they did us; and the next morning we picked up 700 Balls that they had fired upon us. The next night being the 17th of March, all things being in Readiness, we erected a small Breast Work on the aforesaid Point without being discover^d by the Enemy till Day Light next Morning, when they began a most severe canonading from their Works upon the Neck; but being unable to affect any thing to our Damage, they made a Most precipitate retreat, leaving the chief of the Effects of the Inhabitants unhurt, tho they Dammaged many Houses and much furniture. They left behind them three excellent Mortars, many Bombs, and about 200 Cannon, the most of which were heavy Pieces all spiked up, and about 100 of them having their Trunnions broke of. Thus was the British Army routed from a Fortress which they were suffered peaceably to build, of the Strength of which they used to make such boastings; and also from the Bunker Hill, which cost them at least the Lives of 1,800 Men, besides the vast Labour & Expense they had bestowed to erect & defend it.

Immediately upon their Retreat we entered the Town with part of the Forces from Roxbury by Land & some considerable Force from Cambridge by Water. We found the Works upon the Neck entire, the Cannon spiked up & the Shells chiefly split, & many of the Cannon Carriages cut to pieces. These Lines upon the Neck were handsomely built & so amazingly strong that it would have been impracticable for

us to have forced them. The other Works were not so well constructed as I imagined we should have found them ; especially at the Bottom of the Common & on Beacon Hill they appeared to be ill constructed & design'd for little but to frighten us. The Enemy embarked in boats & joined the Fleet, which had chiefly quited the Harbour, & fell down to Nantascet from our first building upon the Hills, some few of the Men of War & Transports for the Tories only excepted, who remained to cover the Town. The Admiral finding we had built upon Nook Point & another small Hill, both of which were advantageously scituated to rake the Harbour, thought he could with no degree of Safety tarry any longer ; wherefore he sent to General Howe acquainting him that he was about to quit the Harbour. This, it is said, hastened the General's Retreat, or he would probably have taken his artillery with him. They left no Powder behind them, but we could plainly see where they burnt vast Quantities of that valuable article ; could they have affected the Destruction of their Artillery with as much dispatch, no doubt they would have done it. Quere, Whether it would not be wisdom in the Parliament of England to offer a large Premium to the Person that shall contrive a method to annihilate Cannon, Mortars, Bombs, &c., in a Short space of Time ; otherwise the Rebels will soon furnish themselves with a Stock of these articles without being put to the Trouble of making them Themselves. —

The Inhabitants that were friendly to America still continued in Boston, except Mr. James Lovell, whom they carried off with their other Prisoners. He bore his Fate, & attended the Summons that called him as a Prisoner to quit his native Land & all that was dear to him with that Courage & Resignation which only attend the Virtuous, Wise, & Brave.

No. II. — *Memorandum Continued.*

NOR is it doubted, if wee may Judge from the outward appearance of Persons, but that Mr. Lovell (tho in the Capacity of a Prisoner) embarked with less reluctance than those Miscreants whose complicated offences against the Liberties of their Country denied them the Boon of continueing any longer as Freemen in this Land of Liberty; wherefore since by their Behaviour they had forfeited all right to Freedom, & were driven to the Alternitude of Slavery in this or in a foreign Land, they chose rather to imbarque and be in Servitude with other Slaves than to continue in their native Country & Suffer the just resentiment of their injured Brethren.

Many of these obnoxious animals (tho none of the most obnoxious) chose to tarry & rely upon the Mercy of their offended Countrymen than to hazard their Lives with the Fleet & Army, who were Miserably stocked with Provisions, — having nothing of Animal Food left but salt Meat, & that in so small a Quantity that their common allowance would consume it all in less than three Weeks; this account I had from a Friend of mine who tarried in Boston during the whole siege, who was well acquainted with their Scituation, & on whose veracity I think I can safely rely. In this miserable Scituation they left the Town & hauled of to Nantascet, where I shall, for the present, leave them. These Tories which remained were soon apprehended, & what fate they will receive at the hands of their injured Countrymen (for I can't call them Brethren) may be left by me undetermin'd as yet.

The Fatigues & Hardships that were underwent by that part of the Army which were Stationed at Roxbury from the time of our first building upon the Hill, tho not eequal to the Hardships which many of this Profession have endured, yet

I think I may safely pronounce them hard. When we first arrived upon the Hills, as I before observed, we had no cover from the Weather but Apple Trees (a miserable Shelter from Storms & March Winds); for the Regulars had previously set fire to almost all the Houses & Barns on the Neck,—two Barns & three small Houses only being left, & of these only the Barns were so situated as to afford shelter for the Army of 25 Hundred Men, or thereabouts, because of their Distance from the Works we were building. Therefore no particular Regiments could be stationed there, & it was absolutely necessary to keep at least that Number of Men constantly upon the Hills, & these must be drawn from those at Roxbury. This Party together with the Guards at Roxbury kept half of our Men on duty constantly, & many being taken ill about that time, some with what we termed the Hill Fever & others with real Sickness, many Men were obliged to be on Duty two Days & Nights successively. Moreover, because of the dangerous Scituation of the Causeway, we were obliged to go on to relieve the Parties on the Hills in the Night at 3 o'clock; this made it more fatiguing, being in this manner broke of our Rest each Night.

Being myself unwell upon our first entering upon the Hills, I was unable to do but three Tours of Duty in this Manner, and had entered upon the fourth when I was so unwell that with much difficulty with the assistance of an able Bodied Man I got of from the Hills. I continued 2 Days in my Chamber and then walked out, but the Blody Flux raged so hard upon me & nothing suitable for my Diet being to be bought, it was thought best for me to go into the Country, whereupon I went to Concord & tarried several Days; but being unwilling to tarry any longer out of Camp than what was absolutely necessary, I returned about 3 Days before the enemy evacuated Boston. Being still unfit for Duty, never-

theless I undertook another Tour, seeing Duty had been so hard for the other Officers,—many of them by this Time being unwell & unfit for Duty. On the 24 of March, the enemy being gone down to Nantascet & it being thought best to have some steady forces upon the Hills, Colⁿ Learneard's & Colⁿ Cary's Regiments were both of them ordered upon the Hills. To the latter I belonged, & we moved on expecting to have found Barracks provided; but when we arrived we found that the Barracks provided for our Reg^t were not above half sufficient to contain them, neither were there Chimneys in any of them. Our being huddled in this manner with such accommodations upon the Hills was owing to the unfaithfullness of the Barrack Master, who had returned to the Gen^l that a sufficiency of Barracks were finished to receive us. Yet in this Scituation, half killed with smoke, we found our Duty easier than when we lived at Roxbury & did Duty upon the Hills. Many of our People were sick, for whom a convenient House was provided at Roxbury; among these two only were very Dangerous, viz., Elisha Doane & Joseph Philips. Doane, after having been extreme low and weak, being several times looked upon as a dying Man, recovered so far that on my coming from Roxbury on the second of April he was able to sit up and in a likely way of recovery. But as to Philips, who was taken with a Pleurisy which afterwards turned to a Malignant Putrid Fever, God in his providence saw fit to take him to himself, as we trust, on the 30th of March. The next Day he was decently inter'd.

On the 18th of March, the Enemy still keeping Possession of Castle William, I mounted the guard upon the Point near the Castle at not more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Mile Distance; the night being very calm & my Duty calling me to visit the Centuries, I could hear them busiely employed, as I then supposed, in spiking up the Cannon & breaking of the Trun-

nions. This work they continued till the next day, 19th, when about 3 o'clock they began to blow up the Fortifications. This lasted till about sunset, when they set the Block House on the South Poin on Fire. Our Guard were now expecting to be relieved & were paraded to receive the relief; but the relief being detained, we were desirous to see the fire, & retired to a Hill about 10 Rods distance North from the Guard House, where we might have a full View. The Enemy, perceiving us upon the Hill within point Blank Shot of their Cannon, fired three 24 lb. Shot at us, neither of which went more than 2 yards above our Heads. The first & second would unavoidably have killed some of the men had they not have fell upon discovering the Flashes of their Guns; as it was, several of our Men by the Wind of the Balls were almost stuned. Neither of the Balls came nearer to me than 10 Yards Distance, tho I stood upon the Top of the Hill & never removed till after their fire was over. The other Men were in more danger after the first Shot; for the Enemy, knowing they would repair to the Guard House, had placed their Cannon so as to take them on their runing from the Hill. Tho horribly frightened by the whistling of the Balls, I considered this, and was the only Man that stood the Ground.

The next day, 20th, they continued demolishing the Works of the Castle, and in the Evening set all the Combustible part of it on Fire, and left it the same Night. I myself went on the next Day to see the Havock and Destruction they had made, the which surpass all discription & of which no man could have any tolerable Idea unless himself was made a Spectator; that once beautifull Fortress was now nothing more than a confused heap of Rubbish. The Enemy left the chief part of their Cannon, all of which (excepting three 18 lb. ers which were left entire) had either a Trunnion beat

of or the Breechings broke of and all spiked up. We dug up several of their Boxes of powder, which were designed to blow up part of the Walls, but had not taken Fire.

The Enemies Fleet, which I left at Nantascet, remained there till Wednesday, 27 of March, when about half of their Number, consisting chiefly of Transports with a Few Convoys of Men of war, set sail & stood out to sea; the remaining Ships, excepting 4 Men of war (which they left at Nantascet), followed them the next Saturday.

The Fleet lying so long below made many People mistrustfull that their design was to reland in some part of the Harbour; therefore we kept strong Guards in every exposed part thereof. But it afterwards appeared that their long delay was occasioned by the Confusion and Hurry in which they quitted the Town, not having any time either to rig the Vessels or distribute the Provisions among the Vessels. Those which sailed first were said to contain the Families of the Tories which they shipped of for Halifax as soon as they could get them ready.

After the first part of the Fleet sailed, the other part was reinforced by several large Ships of war, but from whence they came I could never learn.

One of the Fleet having a valuable cargo of Stolen goods together with a number of Tories was cast away soon after on Cape Cod, & another whose Cargo was estimated at 35,000£ sterling was taken by Capt. Merry; what became of the others time will discover.

While the Fleet was lying at Nantascet, our People fixed several Fire Engines, which would undoubtedly have consumed some of their Fleet, but the Wind proving unfavourable deterred us from putting our design in execution.

The Enemy having thus evacuated Boston & chiefly left the Harbour, the Army, excepting a few Regiments, were

order'd to the Southward, as it was expected the Enemy were gone to the Southern Colonies. At least there was great danger of it; and as New York (I suppose) was thought to be the Center of the Colonies, they were ordered for that place. Many Regiments had already marched (& by accounts from them they had arrived at N. York) before the Fleet left Boston; the others, as I before mentioned, had orders to follow. Gen^l Green's Brigade, consisting of 5 Regiments — Viz., Col^{ns} Varnum, Hitchcock, Little, Reed, & Bailey — had orders to March on Monday, the 1 of April, to New London by the Way of Norwich; but in the Night before their March Expresses came from Newport that the Enemy were seen of that Port, & that it was expected that they were about to land. This occasioned counter Orders for them to take Providence in their Way. I myself had to the First of April acted in the Regiment to which I belonged, Viz., in Colⁿ Cary's Reg^t of Militia; but their time being expired, and having in the Evening before an Invitation to take the Place of one Lieu^t Shaw of Colⁿ Baileys Reg^t, & having a desire to be farther instrumental in so glorious a Cause, & finding my acceptance of the office would be agreeable to the officers, I readily agreed to it, & Lieut. Colⁿ Jacobs went the next morning to Cambridge for the Generals approbation, which if I could obtain I was to follow the Reg^t. We found the Gen^l very busie in wrighting dispatches, &c., that he could not attend to Buisness of such small Consequence; but upon Ag^t Gen^l Gates Promise of my having a Commission if I would follow the Army, I concluded to do it if I had the advice of Colⁿ Bailly. I therefore return'd & asked Colⁿ Bailly, who advised me if I had an inclination, to go, & said he made no doubt but that I should be as well used as if Time had permitted the Gen^l to have given me a Commission. I therefore concluded to follow the next Morn-

ing, & to spend the Evening in wrighting to acquaint my Friends of my New undertaking, which I accordingly did; & the next morning the 2^d of April set out to overtake the Reg^t, which I affected that after Noon. I found Cap^t Allen to whose Company I belonged to be a very agreeable Companion, & his Company a Civil Set of People. As I was entirely unacquainted with any Person in the Company, I had previously enquired of my Friends as to their Characters before I engaged to serve, & found that the Cap^t & his other officers had the character of civil & agreeable Gentlemen, & upon my further acquaintance with them I found their Good Characters to surpass my expectations. 4th of April we arrived at Providence; the Roads being bad and the Rainy Weather prevented our arriving sooner. Nothing very material happened during our March. On the road I saw Mrs. Atwood and Miss R. Sears, and Breakfasted with them at Mr. Atwoods House in . . .

I found the Town of Providence very agreeably scituated on each side of a River. Several very elegant Buildings; in peticular the Baptist Meeting House & the College, a little east of the Town. We tarried here but one Night, & the next Day sat out for Norwich in Connecticut.

At Providence I saw building two neat Frigates . . .

[*Here a page is gone*]

. . . fellow had hired to take care of his Farm, coincided very well in each other's Opinions, & I believe no part of the old Mans Estate suffered for the want of Cultivation.

9th. We marched to New London, about 15 Miles South from Norwich. This Town in no wise answered to the Conceptions I had of its Magnitude or Grandeur; however, it is pleasantly scituated on the West side of the River Thames. On the opposite side is a handsome Village or Town called Groton. The River makes an excellent Harbour. Here we

found Admiral Hopkins with part of the American Fleet, which had arrived two days before. They had sail'd from Philadelphia to . . ., where they took possession of the King's Forts, and brought off all the Artillery, consisting of a great Quantity of Cannon, Bombs, Mortars, Shot, &c. The Powder the Enemy privately conveyed off on seeing that our People were determined to take Possession. They also took in the West Indies several Vessels richly laden, the Property of the English Merchants in England. On their Return home they came across the Glasgo, Ship of War, off Block Island, with several other Tenders, a Bomb Brig, &c. A Brig commanded by the Admirals Son first engaged the Glasgo; and tho' the Glasgo was much superiour, yet he fought with courage for 3 Glasses when the Admiral came to relieve his Son, who was much shattered & wanted time to refit. The Glasgo & the Admirals ship Alfred had a Warm Engagement; but just as the Brig was coming up again, having refitted, the Alfred received an unlucky shot which carried away the Tiller Ropes, & they could not manage her to get up with the Glasgo again. Cap^t Hopkins, however, engaged her warmly again with his Brig; but as the Glasgo from the beginning made a running fight of it, the other Ships were unable (being loaded) to get up with her till she had got nigh to New Port, when the Admiral, expecting a superiour force, would soon come out against him, gave a signal for quitting the chase. During this Engagement Cap^t Whipple, who commanded the Columbus of 36 Guns, kept at a distance, & never came up to the Assistance of the Alfred & the Brig, but kept his distance. Most People say that had he given chase he might have taken the Glasgo, as he was noways shattered & might have come up with her; others say he could not on account of the Wind; how that is will be determined. During the

Engagement they took a Bomb Brig with 8 Carriage Guns & 2 Howitzers, &c., also a Schooner commanded by one Wallace mounting 6 Carriage Guns, & brought them in. By all accounts the Glasgo fought well & was much shattered, as were also the Alfred & the Brig, on board of which about 10 Men were killed & the Brig's Cap^t, with others wounded.

April 14th. The Wind not being favourable before this Day, we set Sail with a Favourable Wind, and got past Connecticut River & were obliged to put back to black Point. The Next Day we set sail about 1 o'clock, & the next day about 2 o'clock we arrived at Turtle Bay, between Hell Gate and New York. Here we were obliged to tarry till the next day at 9 o'clock for Orders. We set sail, & at 10 arrived in the City of New York, our desired Port, on the 17 of April. For about 10 Miles below New York the Passage between the Maine & Long Island was very Narrow. On both sides many very elegant Country Seats, & at Hell Gate a handsome & well-constructed Fort lately built by our People. At Turtle Bay are 4 large & beautiful Stores made for the Use of the King's Stores & Amunition, &c. From this Place the Yorkers took a very large Quantity of Bombs & Shot; but the Enemy had conveyed the Powder away before. Near this Place are several elegant & beautiful Country Seats, Several evacuated by the Tories. I visited the Garden of one Gentleman in which was a Summer House which the Gardener shewed me in which were many curious Flowers, &c.; but the greatest Rarity was Orange, Lime, Pomgranet, & Citron Trees all Bearing Fruit. The Lemons were the largest & best that ever I saw, as also the Oranges, both sweet and sour. One Lime tree had 5 different Sorts of Fruit growing at once beside Blossoms.

On our arival we found Houses provided for both Officers

& Men. Our Reg^t was barracked in Water Street near to Pecks Slip, & we had 2 Rooms for the officers of our Company in D. Barkleys on the Same street near our Company.

19th. I spent the greatest part of my Time in viewing the City, which I found vastly surpassing my Expectations. The City is nearly as populous as the Town of Boston; the Publick Edifices greater in number, yet not in general so grand & Magnificent as those of Boston. I found the Town, or City, scituated between two Rivers. The one Running about North, called the North River, is the same which is navigable up as far as Albany, about . . . Miles; the other River is that which seperateth Long Island from the Continent, and runs Easterly, one part of which is called *Hell Gate* (very metaphorically so called). In the Town we found every street leading from the Water almost stoped with Breast Works built by Gen^l Lee on his arrival in this Town, to prevent the Enemy from landing to set fire to the Town. On the South west part of the Town, which is a Point between the two Rivers, is a very strong & costly Fort built by the Kings Troops & many masons men for the Protection of the City from the Enemy.

On the outside of the Fort at the Edge of the wall was a Battery, erected at a vast Expence to the King, built of hewn stone, the outside about ten feet high, the inside filled up to form a plane that the Wall was not more than a foot and a half high. Over this the Cannon were to play; but as so low a wall would not be a sufficient cover for our Men, our People were busily employed in making a Turf Wall upon the stone Wall, & when we arrived had almost finished as compleat a Battery as ever I saw. Several other Fortifications were erected in this Town, which made it tolerably strong & safe against any attacks of the Enemy. From the above mentioned Fort a spacious street runing

east northerly in a right line, reached without the Town about 1 Mile. In this, near the Fort, is the Equestrian Statue of King George 3^d, a Present from himself to this City.¹ The design was in imitation of one of the Roman Emperors on Horseback. The Man George is represented about $\frac{1}{3}$ larger than a Natural Man; the Horse, in proportion, both neatly constructed of Lead gilt with Gold, raised on a Pedestral of white Marble, about 15 Feet high, enclosed with a very elegant Fence about 10 feet high, the 2 lower feet Stone, the remainder of open worked Iron; the inclosure was oval, containing about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre of beautifull green. This, with several Churches and other Elegant buildings on either side of the spacious street, form a most beautifull prospect from the Fort. Opposite the Town on the south is the Town of Brooklinn on Long Island, at about 1 Mile distance. The Town of Brooklinn with the adjacent Hills, on which are several elegant Country Seats, (20) I visited, and took a full view of the Waterworks that are making to convey Water through the City (that from the Pumps being very bad & unwholesome to that degree that the Inhabitants buy Water for Coffee, &c. from Carts that are employed to carry it about the City). These Works were began about 12 Months since at the City Expence, to defray which they issued Bills that are current as other Money. A Dutchman undertook the Jobb for a certain sum, & hath already performed the most difficult part of the Work, tho not with that success that was expected by the Citizens, as they say. He saith he hath done as well as he promised. The Work that is already done (the most difficult part) is to convey Water from the side of an Hill nigh a Pond to the top of the Hill, which being higher than any part of the City, the Water is to be

¹ I have since been informed it was bought by the subscription of the Gentlemen of this City. — I. B.

conveyed in Pipes through the City. As the Man that attended spoke very broken English & the Machiene was not at Work, it was with great Difficulty that I understood the Construction of the Machiene; & to pretend to give a perticular discription of this Work would be folly in me, as I could by no means do it Justice. The first part of the Work was the Well, about 40 feet Diamiter, and to appearance about 30 feet to the surface of the Water. In this Well was the Engine, which forced the Water almost to the Top, & from thence through a Wooden Tube up to the Top of the Hill, which was about 5 Rods distance and about . . . Feet perpendicular above the Top of the Well. At the Top of the Hill was an artificial Pound, whose superficies was about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an Acre, and when filled, the Water would be about 8 or 10 Feet deep; from hence the Water was to be conveyed (as I before said) in Pipes through the City. All of this I could easily understand; but the grand Question was how was the Machiene in the Well first actuated & continued its motion? This I was surprised to find was wholly done by the Power of Boiling Water.

For further Particulars see the next Memorandum.

No. III. — *Memorandum No. 3 continued, April 20, 1776.*

It was a long time before I could discover even by seeing the Works how this could be effected, & the Man who shewed the Works could give me no satisfaction as to this till at length I found that by Means of a large Copper (which is kept boiling when it is requisite for the Works to be set in Motion) the Steem or Vapour of the Water is conveyed from thence into a strong Copper Tube of about 18 Inches Diamiter & about 10 Feet Long, which stands perpendicularly. The lower part or end of this Tube is tight; but the

upper End hath in it a moveable Stopper which may move upwards or Downwards with as much ease as possible, and at the same time to keep any of the Air from without from entering into the Tube & to keep it as tight as possible another part of the Works constantly supply the Top of the Tube above the Stopper with a small stream of Water. The Steem of the Hot Water (as I take it) entering into the Tube rarifyeth the Body of the Air contained therein to a great degree, when the Stopper is let loose and flyeth upwards with great Rapidity to the upper End of the Tube, when the Pressure of the Air from without throweth [it] back to the Bottom of the Tube with as great Force as it came upwards. When it gets to the Bottom it is again drove upwards by the same cause, & repelled when it arrives at the Top: thus the Stopper is kept in constant Motion by the Means of Steam or Vapour, & to this Stopper is fastened a stout Wooden lever by a bar of Iron. The Lever is Fastened in the Middle upon an Axis; and as the Stopper of the Tube moves upwards and downwards, it moves the Lever, which worketh the Engine in the Well, which forceth (as I before described) the Water into the Pond at the Top of the Hill. The Engine hath been tried & generally throws . . . Gallons in a Minute into the Pond. Thus have I given as perticular discription of this curious Engine as I possibly could, having viewed it but about 15 Minutes. I hope soon to see it at Work, when I can give a more perticular discription of several small parts of it for which I could see no use.

21, *Sunday*. It being for some reason thought expedient to reinforce the Army at Canada, 4 Reg^{ts} had orders issued to be ready to imbarque on the 15th, & this day they set sail for Albany under command of Brigadier Gen^l Thompson.

In the afternoon, being disirous to attend publick Worship, not having had an oppertunity of so doing for a long

Time since, I went into a small Meeting House, expecting it to be a Congregational Meeting ; but I soon found my Mistake, for when the Priest arrived I could not in a long Time understand a Word he said. I inquired & found it was Dutch Church, & in this Church they used the high Dutch Language. They began Service with Singing, accompanied or led by a small Organ ; then (as I took it) with Prayers, some of which were formal, others Extempore. It is worthy of Notice that during the whole service the Congregation kept to their Seats, excepting once, when the Priest Read (as I was informed it was) his Text, & then only the Men arose. When he had finished this they again sat down, & kept their Seats during the Service till the Blessing was given. The Priest delivered a very lengthy Sermon, chiefly without Notes, & in the whole of his performances appeared as compleat an Orator as ever I heard speak. The Priest was dressed in a black Gown similar to that of the English Clergy, & performed the whole Service without the assistance of a Clerk ; the People some Times repeating after him, that is, when he used forms for Prayer. The Terminations of their language seemed greatly to resemble Greek. This was the only high Dutch Church in Town, tho there are several other Dutch Churches who use the low Dutch Language ; these Languages being as different, as I am informed, as are the French & English Languages to each other.

22. Our People have been very busily employed in fortifying a small Island called Governors Island, about 1 Mile distance to the Southward of the Fort, & Works at the South West of the City. I spend my Time very agreeably in company with the officers of our Reg^t, several of which are near my age. Sometimes visit Lieut. Parker & Doc^r Eustis¹ of the Artillery.

¹ Hon. William Eustis, of the Class of 1772, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. He was a Surgeon in the Revolutionary Army. See 15 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. 128, where he appears on a court-martial under the name of "Eustace."

24th. I before mentioned this Reg^t as being in the Brigade of which Gen^l Green had the Command ; each Brigade was arranged on their Departure from Mass. Bay to stand no longer than during their March to N. York. Now the whole Army was again put into 5 Brigades under Command of the following Generals, Viz. : 1, Gen^l Heath ; 2, Spencer ; 3, Sullivan ; 4, Green and the 5th, Lord Sterling.

Gen^{ls} Heath & Sullivans Brigades each consisted of 5 Reg^{ts} ; the others of 4 Reg^{ts} each ; and our Reg^t by the New Establishment was put into Gen^l Heath's Brigade.

25th. During the Course of the last Week I several Times visited the Holy Ground, before described. When I visited them at first, I thought nothing could exceed them for impudence and immodesty ; but I found the more I was acquainted with them the more they excelled in their Brutality. To mention the Particulars of their Behaviour would so pollute the Paper I write upon that I must excuse myself.

The whole of my aim in visiting this Place at first was out of Curiosity, as was also that of the chief of the Gentlemen that accompanied ; & it seems Strange that any Man can so divest himself of Manhood as to desire an intimate Connexion with these worse than brutal Creatures, yet it is not more strange than true that many of our Officers & Soldiers have been so imprudent as to follow them, notwithstanding the salutary advice of their Friends, till the Fatal Disorder seized them & convinced them of their Error. I am informed that not less than 40 Men of one Reg^t which last Sunday set off for Quebeck were infected with that disorder. What fine order these Men must be in to undergo a fatiguing March through a cold, uninhabited Country ! Unless there is some care taken of these horrid Wretches by the Gen^l, he will soon have his Army greatly impaired, for

they not only destroy Men by Sickness, but they sometimes inhumanly Murther them; for since Monday last two Men were found inhumanly Murthered & concealed, besides one who was castrated in a barbarous Manner. This so exasperated the Men that in the face of Day they assembled and pulled down the Houses where the Men were thus treated, & with great difficulty the Guards dispersed them after they had leveled them to the Ground. This, together with the common Riots incident to such Places, made our Men a little more Cautious how they ventured to prophane Holy Ground with their Presence.

April 26. I mounted Guard with Capt. Crocker at Harrison's brewery. Here is a beautifull circular Fort, built wholly at the Expence & Labour of a Company of Grani-diers belonging to the City, for which they receiv^d the Genl^s thanks publickly. I had a very pleasant Guard; treated very handsomely by M^r McPherlin & Love & their Wives, who live in the House where the Officers Room was. They invited us to sup & Breakfast, & every way treated us genteelly & engaged our Future acquaintance.

28, *Sunday.* In the fore noon I attended publick worship in a Congregational Meeting, where they told me I should hear good preaching; but I was very much disappointed, as the Parson had invited a Chaplain of the Army to do his work for him, who performed as much to my dissatisfaction as ever I should desire any man to do. Being tired with such Nonsense as I heard in the forenoon, I thought to find something better by attending upon Service in the Church of England; but the Satisfaction that I received from the delivery of an Excellent Sermon was greatly allayed by the Pedantick behaviour of the Priest, the Irreverent behaviour of the People, & the foolish parrade of Ceremonies. I am determind that unless I can find better entertainment

the next Sunday to attend Worship with the Dutch Priest whom I heard last Sunday, chusing rather to worship where I understand nothing that is spoken than to hear such folly as was delivered in the fore noon; and the Devout behaviour of the Dutch is more agreeable to me than all the Pomp, Equipage, & Majestick Expressions of the English Church, accompanied with such behaviour as was theirs.

29. As the Continental Congress had ordered 6 More Regiments for Canada, the Gen^l gave out orders for Gen^l Sullivan with that Number should embarque for Albany. These orders were given out on the 27th, and Many of the Men sailed for Albany this Day. 'Tis reported that this unexpected order is in Consequence of an Express which was lately sent to the Congress containing disagreeable News, & which they chuse not to divulge.

They will be tolerably strong at Canady, 10 Reg^{ts} having gone from hence, besides the Army in those Parts before. The Brigade under Gen^l Green was ordered to take the birth of Gen^l Sullivans brigade on Long Island, as Gen^l Sullivan is ordered for Canada. The other 3 Brigades together with the Artillery are to encamp without the City on the Day after tomorrow. An old Whore who had been so long Dead that she was rotten was this Day found concealed in an out House at the Holy Ground.

30. A severe cold Day for the Season. I went upon Fatigue, making additions to the Breast Work without the Fort.

May 1st Went with Cap^t. Allen & several other officers to visit Mr. McPherlin, Love, &c., in the afternoon. We spent our Time very agreeably.

Took a survey of the Air Furnace (near by). In this Furnace they have cast many excellent Brass Field Pieces,

6 lb^s, besides Iron Cannon eaqual to any ever made in any part of the World.

May 3^d. With Cap^t Porter spent some time at a Biliard Table; was very luckey, & reapt much Pleasure by the pleasant behaviour of the Gentlemen at that Place.

4. Took a survey of the City Goal, which the Goaler shewed us. The Prisoners here are as well treated as in any Prison I ever visited. The Goal itself is a very Magnificent Building (upon the North side of the Common), having more the appearance of an elegant Mansion House than of a Common Gail; the inside is regularly built, and is as convenient, both for the Prisoners & Jailer, as I can possibly imagine any could have been.

6, *Sunday*. Attended Service in the fore Noon at the Brick Meeting; heard an excellent Comment upon the 8th Psalm. In the afternoon atten^d Service at the Chapel & was well Satisfied, & wrote home to my Mother the second Time.

7. We hear frightfull News of a Fleets having arrived at Boston, & that the Enemy had taken Possession of Dorchester Hills; the last part is a Lye of the Day. Saw B. Stone.

8th. Had News from England of the Resolutions of the Ministry to enforce their Measures the ensuing Summer by the Help of 25,000 New Troops from England & 20,000 Hessians, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, &c., from Germany, 12,000 of whom are destined for this place, 12,000 for Boston, 10,000 for Quebeck, & 11,000 for the Southern Provinces. These Forces are also to bring with them 27 Commissioners to grant Pardons, & to delude the People of England with a Pretence that Peaceable & honorable Terms of Accommodation are offered, but that we would not accept. Would it not have been more honourable for them, if they

had any Intentions of an Accommodation, to have lain hold of the opportunity offered in the last Petition of the Congress? But this would not serve their Turn! But George must meanly beg the assistance of his Brother Robbers & Cuthroats, & by cringing & fawning to all Europe he hath been able to procure 20,000 Men, & these, with the Whole Armament of England, are to assist the Commissioners to treat with America for Peace. In the Mean Time America, seeing y^t her Terms were slighted & discovering their Intentions, hath been busied in putting herself in the best Posture of Defence that the Nature of her Circumstances would admit. The affections of her Inhabitants (which before were strongly attached to Brittain, so that the People would have taken up satisfied with almost any Terms) have been more and more aliened from Brittain, that we are now upon the Eve of declaring ourselves independent of G. Brittain, & seting up an Empire for ourselves. What will be the Consequences of this God only Knows!

In the Afternoon I visited a very agreable Young Ladie of this City, Miss ———, with whom I had before had a small acquaintance, as I had, while on Guard, shewn this young Ladie & the Company with her the Civility due to Persons of their appearance, Viz., of shewing them the Works, &c. She, in her Turn, was not so ungratefull as to take no Notice of me, but as I accidentally passed the House for several Times, I observed that she seemed to Compliment me with more respect than is usual, or than I deserved; but as I was bashfull, I no more than returned the Compliment, & passed by till at length I made bold to enter the House with the Gentleman that was with me; but as he was in a great Hurry I could not tarry long, but was obliged to depart, bitterly against my will; however I gave her Intimation that I should again call in, & as I could not discover but

that it would be agreeable, I took this opportunity to spend an Afternoon with her. I found playing upon her Spinet, upon which she performed to admiration ; her Musick, joined to an agreeable Person, gave me very favourable Ideas of my New Acquaintance. I spent the After Noon with her in her own Apartment, Reading & Chatting, &c., till about 5 o'clock, when her Mother came and asked us to Tea. The Father was Absent, but her Mother was an agreeable Woman, plainly dressed. They were Germans, who soon after they were married came into this Country. I know not whether they have an Estate or not. After Tea we spent About an Hour in the same Manner as before, when I was obliged to Attend Duty & took my leave, but Not till I had provided myself with some entertainin Books from her Library.

9. Mounted Guard at Harrison Brewery, or Grenadiers Fort. Capⁿ Bolster of Learnard's Reg^t commanded the Guard, a Gentleman of Superiour Abilities from what I had conceived from his outward appearance.

10. Visited Miss B. Grim in the Evening. She had several Young Ladies with her & one Gentleman, a Physician ; spent the Evening in a Sociable Manner.

11. Being unwell in the Morning, I had much difficulty to keep myself stirring about through the Day. In the After Noon, as I was taking a survey of the Works with Lieut Hayward of the Artillery, a sudden Squall arose, & I caught a small wetting before I could cover myself.

11. As Mr. Stone was about to leave the City to return Home (tho I was very unwell), I made shift to write two Letters for home ; but he was so disingenious as to disappoint both Lieut Hayward & myself in the same thing, Viz. in not calling for our Letters, tho he past the Door. I know not what to impute this to but his heedlessness or his disobliging Temper. We had an Express from Philadelphia that 13 of

our Gallies had attacked the Roebuck Man of War 44 Guns and a 28 Gun Ship, had run the Roebuck a ground on the Top of the Tide, & were waiting for the Tide to fall to make the Second attack. Continuing to be unwell, in the Evening I took a Vomit. Our Reg^t, which had before this been unsupplied with Tents, now had their compliment, & pitched them in the Place allotted them, about a Mile to the North of the Town; but did not remove.

12, *Sunday*. I was very weak & unwell; never the less I went to the Brick Meeting to attend Service, but was so grievously afflicted, partly with weakness following my last nights Frolick, & partly with a number of troublesome Boils that had now taken possession of my Body, that I can give no acc^t of the Service. In the Afternoon our people were employed in fixing their Tents.

13, *Monday*. Our People removed into their Tents, & I took Boarding with Mrs. March on Slip, being so troubled with 5 Boils that I could scarcely walk.

14. Continued very ill; a small Fever seting in took all my appetite for food away. This, with the Anguish of the sore Boils, brought me so weak that I could not sit up $\frac{1}{2}$ the Day.

Had disagreeable news from Quebeck that the Enemy had made a Sally, being impowered thereto by reinforcements that arrived on the 4th of May, & that not more than 200 of our Men being to oppose them, they had taken the Hospital with 200 Sick, almost the whole of the Artillery & Amunition, with all the Provisions. If this is true, there is great Blame for the General, as our Army consisted of about 7,500 Men.

May 15, 16. Continued very Ill with the Boils. The Doctor visited me several Times; sat up about $\frac{1}{2}$ my Time.

17th. A Solemn Fast throug the Continent, but a little esteemed by many of the Inhabitants.

18. Authority had been several Times before this employed in bringing the Tories of this City to Terms, but as many of late had returned from the Country, whither they had fled for Safety, they began again & had each one before the Committee of Safety, whom they obliged by an Oath Not to act Inimically to America, and then took their Arms into Custody; but about 20 proving refractory were committed to Goal.

19, *Sunday*. Continueing unwell & unable to walk, I could not go to Church; & as I had an Opportunity I wrote a Letter to my Mother, as also one to S. Emery, & sent them both to Nantucket.

20. News has been circulating in the City for several Days that a large Number of the Regulars are at Sandy Hook & will soon be up to the City.

21. A Schooner belonging to Providence, which had about 8 Tons of Powder, 300 Stands of Arms, &c., was taken by a small Tender at Sandy Hook.

22. Growing Better, I am determined to go into the Tents.

23. Ride up to the Tents, & almost Frieze in the Night.

24. Spend my Time very disagreeably upon account of the Caprice of several pretended Gentlemen. However I have several worthy Friends; I am determined to take as little of insults as possible. Had News from Boston of a valuable Prize being taken by Cap^t Mugford in a Continental armed Schooner. Cap^t Mugford unhapily lost his Life by opposing 13 Boats from the Men of War, who endeavoured to board him & retake the Prize; but they were repulsed with great loss.

25. Being unable to walk, I took a ride into the City; took this opportunity to call upon Miss Betsy Grim, whom I had not visited since I was first taken ill. She had the

day before gone to make a visit in the Country. The Family wondered at my so long absence, but concluded I was sick. Saw Lieu^t Webb, who was doing Duty with about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Company on board the Whale Boats; he desired me to write home to acquaint his Wife of his welfare, which I did the next Day.

May 26, Sunday. Being lame, I could not attend upon divine Service, but spent the chief part of the Day with Maj^r Haden in his & my own Tent in reading Herveys Meditations. I wrote to my Mother. The Enemy are collecting a Fleet of Transports & Ships of War at Sandy Hook. Our Men have been very busied in building Forts & Breast works on the Jersie Side.

27. This is the first Time I did Duty since my late indisposition (from which, thro the Goodness of God, I have almost perfectly recovered, excepting a lameness from a very bad Boil under my left Ham. I mounted Piquet, unable to do other Duty. The Men complain of hard Duty, a thing not uncommon in Armies. The Duty is very constant, tho not hard.

29th. Gen^l Election at Boston. I took a walk into the City.

30th. I went upon Fatigue upon the Jersie side. Lieut^s Hudson, Church, & Myself were the officers from our Reg^t. We worked upon a small Fort; the Men in General worked well. Had some disagreement with the Engineers assistant about detaining us too long, as the Men would not work after 5 o'clock, as we had to row across the River home. However, we tarried till six o'clock, tho we did no work after 5. The Men behaved well to the officers. I enjoy myself well on the recovery of my Health.

May 31st. I took a walk to visit my Friends in the City. I am greatly rejoiced at the great regard and Esteem that I

discovered I had shewn me on a particular Occasion by some of the officers in our Reg^t.

June 2^d. I mounted Guard at the Lower Barracks in the Grand Battery. The Guard consisted of 80 Men, 1 Capⁿ, & 3 Subs. Had a tolerable pleasant Time of it. It was Sunday, and we had a great Number of Visitants after Service was performed, -- Lieut Hayward, &c.

3^d. The Officers of our Reg^t had established an Association consisting of the whole Choir of Officers to consult upon Matters that should occur relating to our Reg^t, & to spend a few Hours in Social Conversation. We had a Room at a Publick House not far from the Camp, & were to meet once in a Fortnight upon Mondays in the Afternoon. There had been already two of these associations, but I had not attended on account of my late Indisposition. In each of these the manner of my appointment in this Reg^t (which had given umbrage to some that I had superceeded) was discussed in my absence; but by accounts from some particular very worthy Friends, in whom I could confide, I was respected by all as to my Character, even above what I thought I deserved, & that I myself was not blamed by any in coming into the Reg^t; but the Colonels who had recommended me to superceed others had been greatly blamed; that at first I was blamed for my Conduct, in not consulting Capⁿ Allen & his Officers to know whether it would be agreeable, but that several of my Friends which were well respected in the Association had appeared very warm in my Favour & had almost given entire satisfaction. I considered well of these Matters before I went to the Association; it gave me great uneasiness that the Colonels should be blamed on my Account when they had never intended any Injustice to any one, & in their Proceedings were perfectly innocent & free from blame. Several circumstances had occurred at

the Time of my appointment which were not perfectly understood by all, notwithstanding what had been offered by my Friends had given considerable Satisfaction to the few who were at first disgusted. I thought that if I took occasion to give a particular detail of these circumstances I should perhaps give greater Satisfaction. Opportunity favoured my design, & I gave as regular account of the whole Affair as I was able to do. When I was speaking I could perceive by the Countenances of many that what I offered was agreeable, & after I had finished they all declared themselves to be satisfied.

June 3^d After I had arrived in the Camp I had the Pleasure to be congratulated by my Friends on my giving such satisfaction. The Lieut Colonel in Particular thanked me for what I had said.

June 4. I tarried in the Camp all Day. This Day is the Kings Birth Day. No Festivity, Joy, or Mirth were discovered on this Occasion.

Lieut. Shaw, the Gentleman whom I succeeded, came from N. England to visit his Friends; brought a Number of Letters for the Men of our Reg^t. By these several were made acquainted with the Death of their Relatives. I have not heard from home but by Mr. Stone since I left Roxbury; whether it will be my unhappy Fate to have the same disagreeable News from my Relatives, or whether I shall have the Happiness to hear of their Welfare, God only knows! May he prepare me for whatever he shall think fit to lay upon me!

5th I was upon the Piquet Guard.

6th. Our whole Brigade, consisting of 5 Regiments, — Viz., Learnards, Reeds, Prescotts, Baileys, & Baldwins, — marched into the City to take their Alarm Post, excepting Prescotts regiment, which is stationed on Governors Island.

Gen^l Heath Marched at our Head. Gen^l Washington had been at Philadelphia to consult with the Congress upon some weighty Affairs ; while he was absent it had been circulated by the Tories that he had gone to resign his Office. This believed by many in the Army. Nevertheless, he arrived in the City just before we marched into the City. Through Broad Way we marchèd round the King's Statue, & went back to the Parade, where we formed the Batalion, & Gen^l Washington, with several other Gen^{ls}, the Judge Advocate, &c., Marched by us, the Officers Saluted, & our Reg^t receiv^d the Particular thanks of the Gen^l for their good conduct.

7th I went into the City, visited Doc^r Warren,¹ my old Friend; the first time I could find him, tho he had been in the City a Fortnight. Miss Betsy Grim had returned. Spent about 3 Hours very agreeably, & return^d according to Engagement & dined with Doctor Warren, in Company with Major Cary, Judge Advocate Tudor,² & several Young Ladies. I spent the greatest part of the afternoon very agreeably in the same Company in the Gardens, &c. Then went into the City, was called in by Doc^r Eustis & Capⁿ Sergeant, drank Grog, &c. Lieut. Hayward & myself took an Evening walk, visited Fort Montgomery, discoursed on some particular Affairs, then on different Subjects ; had a Friendly Conference, & got to my Tent about 10 o'clock.

Memorandum No. IV. continued.

June 8th, 1776. This Day being the Jewish Sabbath, I went into the City in the Afternoon with Insign Bryant to

¹ His classmate, Dr. John Warren, great-grandfather of the present Dr. John Collins Warren, of the Class of 1863.

² Hon. William Tudor, b. 28 March, 1750 ; d. 8 July, 1819. He was Judge Advocate of the Continental Army from 30 July, 1775, until 1778.

observe the Method of the Jewish Worship. The Synagogue is a small Square Building, having a Gallery all around, though no Person sat therein. At the Heith of the lower Part of the Gallery in the corners are 4 Candlesticks of Brass hanging from the Roof, each having 16 Candles of Wax ; in the Centre of these is another, having twice that Number. At the East End of the Synagogue is a large Closet, which serves as a repository for the Law and (I suppose) other holy things. This is encompassed with Banisters, and the Ascent thereto is by 3 or 4 Steps. Upon the Corner Posts of the Banisters are standing large Brass Candle Sticks, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Feet long, & proportionable in Magnitude. In these are Wax Candles of about 4 Inches Diamiter and about 3 Feet Long. In the Middle of the Synagogue is the Rostrum or Pulpit looking to the Repository, to which the Ascent is by 3 Steps. On this is a large Table covered with Red Tapestry, fringed with Silver Lace. On each Corner of this also is a Candlestick and Candle like the Former. None of the Candles are alight in the day Time, but a Glass Lamp hangs from the Roof, facing the Repository, which is kept constantly burning both night & Day. The Priest was a handsome Young Man of about 25, dressed in a black Gown, such as is worn by Bachelors of Arts. When he entered the Synagogue, he first walked to the Repository and unlocked the Door, then came down & went into the Rostrum & began to read, or what we should call sing, and soon after the People all joined with him, tho they did not observe good Time in their singing (as I then thought it to be, tho afterwards I was informed it was the proper way of their Reading). Sometimes this singing would alter into jabering, & the Priest would mutter his Hebrew much faster than I could read or speak English. This was done all siting. Afterwards the Priest arose, and stood still singing with his Eyes fixed on

the Repository of the Law, and leaning on the Table in the Rostrum; in about a Minute he went out of the Rostrum, & several others followed him to the Repository, & one of them brought out the law written on a Roll of Parchment. At each end of the Roll was a Stick or Staff, over which the Law Rolled in two Rolls. On the Top of the Sticks were a great Number of small Silver Bells, & over the Bells a Silver Crown. They carried the Law into the Rostrum, when they Pawwayed a little Time over it; then the Priest took it, & opening it, he lifted it up by the two sticks and turned it around to all the People, at the sight of which they all Bawled out again. After much Ceremony, the Law was carried back again; the Priest, both in taking out the Law, in carrying it back, continued singing. After this they Prayed, all standing, faced eastward with their Eyes cast upward, &c., &c., which I cant remember, & then all dispersed, except a Few whom we left behind. It is worthy of observation that during the whole Ceremony, even in Praying, none took off their Hats, but sat and stood with them on.

Sunday, June 9th, 1776. This day I had the command of 87 Men to go to the Jersie side upon Fatiegue. Very warm & uncomfortable. The Men behaved very decently.

10. In the Afternoon Mr. W^m Stone accompanied by Lieut Hayward came to Visit me in Camp. Mr. Stone brought me a Letter from my Mother; (blessed be God) my Friends are all well. He told me that Capⁿ Downs¹ had remov^d with his Family to Nantucket. After the Gentⁿ and I had drank a little Grog, wee walked into the City & spent the afternoon very agreeably. I met Doc^r Curtis,² a Genⁿ with

¹ Capt. Shubael Downes married Dr. Isaac's sister Lydia; their daughter Caroline married Hon. Nathan Brooks, of Concord, and was the mother of the wife of Hon. E. R. Hoar, and of Judge Brooks.

² Dr. Benjamin Curtis of the Class of 1771.

whom I was very intimate at College, & whom I had not seen since we took our Degrees. We had a long Conference; walked through the Forts together, & he gave me information of my old Friend Loring,¹ who is now a Surgeon to the Ministerial Butchers. This gave me great Trouble. On my return home I spent the Evening with Doc^r Warren at his Lodging. When I returned I found Trouble on acc^t of support.

Tuesday, June 11, 1776. In the afternoon I was visited by Doc^r Townshend² & Eustis, two old Comrades. Took a walk into the City with them & spent the Evening.

Two French vessels arrived here about 3 Days since, loaded with W. India Goods, which knocks down the exorbitant Price of those articles a little. Had some Trouble; my Friends support me, — I have many of them.

12. I mounted Guard at the N. River in the City with the Hair Caps, i. e., York Tories who tho they have & are deserving of a Bad Character, yet they behaved very well by being kept in good Subjection. Here I found me a Sweetheart. There are very many in the City of York who have behaved in an inimical Manner to America, a large Mob this Day visited many of them, & treated them very inhumanly by carrying them on a Rail through the Streets, stripping them, &c. Many of the Officers endeavoured to suppress them, but were unable only to disperse them for a little time. Towards Night they came nigh our Guard, & I desired the Capⁿ to turn out the Guard & disperse them,

¹ Benjamin Loring, of the Class of 1772, son of Joshua Loring, a Mandamus Councillor, who was proscribed and banished, and his beautiful house in Jamaica Plain (afterwards Col. D. S. Greenough's) confiscated. His son Benjamin was a Surgeon in the King's Army; went to Shelburne, Nova Scotia, at the peace, but returned and died in Boston in 1798. N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg., vol. xxii. p. 8; Sabine's Loyalists.

² Probably Dr. David Townsend, of the Class of 1770.

but he was unwilling; however, they did no Violence to the two Tories whom they were in pursuit of, but brought them to us & desired us to keep them, which we did out of compassion to the poor Men, but as no Crime was sent in against them, we dismissed them at relieving of the Guard. They were unwilling to quit the Guard House, which they thought a safe Asylum, & we left them but not as Prisoners.

13. I wrote to my Mother in answer to her late Letter, & sent it by W^m Stone, who was bound immediately home. I wrote also to Cap^t Downs, but did not send the Letter, as I should have a more Favourable opportunity in a few Days to send to Nantucket.

A hand Bill appeared containing a Letter from the Congress to the Convention of N. York desiring them to call in their Militia, as the Congress had certain intelligence that L^d Howe intended to make an attack very soon on N. York within 10 Days at furtherest. We are tolerably fortified unless they get past the Forts and land above us. We have daily bad News from Quebeck, & there has been a great Misconduct from what I can learn.

June 14, 1776. I was a Member of a Regimental Court Martial; we had but one Prisoner brought before us, and as his Crime was small, his Punishment was accordingly in proportion. At Night I went on Piquet Guard.

16th, *Sunday*. In the afternoon I attended on Divine Service under the Trees. God hath no regard to Place. The Priest thought himself to be something Great.

17. This day is the 17th of June, memorable for the Battle of Bunkers Hill in Charleston. I spent the Evening on board the Nantucket Vessell, one Cap^t Beard Commander.

18th. I went on Fatigue at Powles Hooke. I had the Command, & the Men behaved well. In the Afternoon Cap^t Beard, his Brother, & Mr. Chase, a Passenger, came up

to visit me ; in the Evening it rained hard that they could not go home for fear of the Centuries. I therefore went on board with them, & continued all Night ; we were very sociable.

June 19th. On Monday last Major Brookes with 200 Men and 2 Comp^s of Artillery set off in the Afternoon on a private Expedition. We now find they were gone with an intention to destroy the light House of which the Marienes from on board the Ships had taken possession by building a Fort.

Reports are various concerning the Success of the Party, a considerable firing hath been heard. I went into the City in the afternoon & visited several of my Friends. On my return to the Camp I saw several New Copper Mortars tried ; these Mortars had been made in this City a few Days since, & performed very well. Cap^t Beard and his Brother, together with Mr. Chase, a Passenger (all belonging to Nantucket), spent the Evening in my Tent ; a sudden Squall which arose detained them till after the C. S. was demandable, & as they were under a Necessity to return & they might meet with difficulty, I was obliged to go home with them, and tarried all Night. I spent the Evening & Night very merrily ; after breakfast in the Morning returned.

20. I went to the City. Lieut. Hayward and myself spent the Evening on board Capt. Beards vessell. I sent a Letter to Capt. Downs. I have many Reflections Concerning the mispence of Time, therefore determined to spend some of my Leisure Hours in the Study of the French Language.

21. Orders were last night issued for 80 Men, 2 Sub^s & 1 Cap^t to go on a private Expedition. These Officers & Men were drawn from the several Reg^{ts} in the Army. I was sent to be the Officer from Gen^l Heaths Brigade. We paraded according to orders at the Laboratory at 9 o'clock with Seven Days Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, &c. Lieut^s Wheeler

& Makepeace from the two other Brigades brought the Quota of Men belonging to each of them. This Party was raised to reinforce the Party at the Light house ; but since the orders were issued News had been received that the Party were unable to effect anything for the want of heavier Metal, & were on their return. We were therefore ordered to return our Arms, & were sent to the Jersies to cut Cedar Wood Logs, &c. to build Fire Rafts. We imbarqued about 2 o'clock in the Afternoon & sailed toward Staten Island, where we entered a small River. On each side were many beautifull Plantations, affording a delightfull repast to the senses of seeing & hearing. After having sailed about 14 Miles from New York, the Wind failing & the Tide seting down, we despaired of getting up this Night, as we had not yet arrived to more than half the first distance ; therefore, determined to go by land. We landed at Bergen Point, after traveling 9 Miles through a country very well timbered but thinly settled with Inhabitants we arrived to the Place where we were to work, excepting the passing a short Ferry. Here we tarried all Night at a Publick House (Cadmuns) ; found we were now but 13 Miles by land from N. York.

22. The Periogue, in which we left all our Axes & Provisions, did not arrive till near 12 o'clock ; therefore we did little work this day. We lived at the Ferry House on the W. of Hackensack River ; we worked in a Cedar Swamp about $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile to the Westward, belonging to Mr. Schuyler.¹ This Gentlemans Father had built a Causeway from the Ferry

¹ Arent John⁴ Schuyler (John³, Arent², Philip Petersen¹), born about 1749, married in 1772 Swartie Schuyler, died 1803 ; son of Col. John and Anna (Van Rensselaer) Schuyler, and great-grandson of the original immigrant from Holland, Philip Petersen Van Schuyler. Mr. George L. Schuyler, to whom, through the kindness of the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, I owe this information, says that there are many descendants of Arent Schuyler in New Jersey, and that the old house hereinafter described is no longer in the family.

House through the Swamp, which is 3 Miles & 20 Chains, at his own expense, chiefly to accomodate the Publick with a Passage to & from N. York, as it saved many People above 15 Miles traveling; & it is now used as a Post Road to Philadelphia & is a saving of about 9 Miles. In the afternoon Lieut^s Wheeler, Makepeace, & myself visited Mr. Schuyler, about 4 Miles distance, found him a very agreeable Gentleman of about 28 years; with him we tarried all Night, & could not excuse ourselves from so doing. An old Man accompanied us as a Pilot, & in our Way he shewed us the Copper Mines belonging to Mr. Schuyler; the Work which we could perceive had been done in them was sufficient to astonish any Man who had seen so little of the World as I had. Nothing had been done in these Mines for 4 Years, the Engine for throwing of the Water having been burnt about that Time. This cost about 3 Thousand, sterling, & would cast out of the Earth 80 Hogsheads in a Minute. This was actuated by Fire, & from fire it had its only Motion; & it was constructed upon the same Principles & much in the same Form as that of N. York for watering the City; but (from necessity) the Works of Mr. Schuyler were greatly superiour in Magnitude to those of the City, of which I could judge by the incombustible Matter which was still remaining.

Sunday, June 23^d, 1776. This Morning arose early (having overnight taken our leave of the Family) & came to our Party, to whom we gave their stints. Mr. Schuyler had promised to visit us at our lodging this Day, but staying beyond the appointed Hour we thought he would not come; therefore we took a walk to Bergen, a Dutch Town, he came, & brought a Friend, & tarried as long as he conveniently could; then came over the River after us, but could not find us. He left word that he was going a small jour-

ney & could not see us again for 2 Days. I am very sorry, as I am greatly in love with him & impatient to see him. Yesterday we heard of a Plot being Discovered in which a great Number of the Citizens, Long Islanders, some of the Gen^{ls} Life Guard, & others of the Army had conspired to Murther the General, blow up the Magaziens, & seize the Cannon of some of the Works, & hold possession of the Forts on Powles Hook. This was to be done on the First approach of the Enemy, that taking the advantage of our Confusion they might put us to a greater. The Mayor of the City of York, whose Name is Mathews, & one Forbes, were the chief of the Conspirators. Both of these had receiv^d Money from Governor Tryon to buy Arms & pay their infernal Tools; they had gone so far, according to all accounts, as to arrange the Conspirators into Companies, & to appoint their officers, whom they swore by the Bible to be true & Faithfull to the King. But now both Forbes & the Mayor are under confinement, & the General hath a list of the Names of all the Conspirators, but none are known before they are taken into custody. Parties of the Independant Companies of the City are gone into Long Island in search of some of the Rogues who have taken themselves into the Woods to schreen themselves from the Punishment they deserve.

24. After the Party had finished their Work, we took a walk as far as Powles Hooke. Then Lieut Wheeler went over to York, but Lieut Makepeace & myself went back as far as Bergen in a Stage Waggon, then visited several of the Dutch People, & at Night we went back to Mr. Dowes.

25. I took the Party to their Work in the Morning, & Lieut Wheeler returned & gave much the same account of the above Plot as we had before receiv'd. In the afternoon Mr. Schuyler came to see us, & spent a very sociable Visit.

We treated him with Madeira Wine, Grog, &c.; but to our surprise he settled the whole Reckoning himself before we could know.

June 25th, 1776. Lieut. Makepeace being a little unwell, Mr. Schuyler took him home with him, & engaged us to dine with him the next day.

26. The Party having finished their Stints, we set off for Mr. Schuylers, according to Engagement; he Met us about half way with a Chair. We had an Elegant Dinner. After Dinner Lieut Wheeler returned, & left Makepeace & myself with Mr. Schuyler. Towards Night we took a tour across the River west of his House, & recreated ourselves at a Publick House by playing Bowles & drinking Wine, Grog, &c. in Company with several Gentlemen of Mr. Schuyler's acquaintance. About 8 o'clock we returned to Mr. Schuylers; found a Gentleman who had come to spend an Evening with him,—Mr. Dubois, a learned & comical Genius.

27th. Mr. Schuyler, after Breakfast, came with us in a Chair, & tarried till after Sunset, during which time many Decanters of Wine suffered Shipwreck, many Bowles of Grog were poured down our thirsty Bellies; nor was Egg Pop forgot among our Dainties. Spent the whole Day very agreeably. Before Night the whole Party set off, & left me to take care of the Teams and to take accounts of the Timber, Wood, &c. we had cut, & to give Certificates for the Teams, Boats, Wood, &c., after I had got it to the Landing, to the Q. Master General. This Evening we hear bad news from Quebeck; but as Reports are so often false, we can make no Dependance on what we hear.

28. Slept very Ill. Mr. Schuyler came at 10 o'clock; we spent the forenoon very agreeably, & got all the Timber, &c. to the Landing. The afternoon was taken up in giving Certificates, making up acc^{ts}, &c. This could not be finished till

after sunset, and as it was too late to return to York, I readily accepted of Mr. Schuyler's Invitation to go with him for the Night. Spent the Evening much to my satisfaction. This Day we heard of one Thomas Hickey, a Soldier in Gen^l Washington's Life Guard, being Executed for joining in the Plot mentioned above. This man was a Deserter from the Ministerial Army. He that is false to one Party is not to be trusted in any, though its opposite. This Hickey was drawn into the Plot by the persuasions of one Green, the Drummer for the Life Guard. Green also was a Deserter, but is kept to give Evidence against others.

June 29, 1776. I Returned to York. Mr. Schuyler lent me a Horse to Ride ; he & an Aunt rode in a Chaise. When I arrived I made my Returns to the Deputy Quarter Master Gen^l, took my leave of Mr. Schuyler, & returned to my Tent. Found Ensign Bryant had gone to the Works as a Carpenter to build a Machiene to sink in the River to prevent the Enemy's Ships from penetrating up the Chanell.

Since I have had occasion to speak frequently of Mr. Schuyler, I must give a small Detail of his Family, which consisted of Himself, Wife, one small Daughter, a Mother, & Miss Polly, his Sister, about 13 or 14 years old, besides a Brother of his Wife & his Family, who fled from York. What can be said of one may be justly applicable to all, viz., considering all Circumstances, they are as agreeable People as ever I had the Pleasure of being acquainted with. Mr. Schuyler, (tho a Gentleman of Liberal Education, not more than 27 years of age, & one of the first Estates in the Province,) yet he inspects every work upon his Farm, which is vastly extensive.

Mrs. Schuyler (his Wife), tho not beautifull in her outward Form, is possed of such a beauteous Mind as must make her agreeable to every one that hath the pleasure to be

acquainted with her. She, as doth her Husband, taketh Pleasure in regulating the affairs of her Family, which by her Diligence & Care is kept in the neatest Order, & the greatest Harmony & Decorum may be observed in every Department of the Whole. Besides the Persons before mentioned which compose the Family are about 50 or 60 Blacks, all of whom, except those who are necessary for Domestic Service, live in a large, convenient House built for that Purpose without the Gate ; in the House every servant their perticular Sphere to act in. I never saw more than 2 in the House otherwise than in the Kitchen, & those were waiters. Those who live in the Out House each have their perticular Department & regular Hours to Work in ; their Victual is cooked at certain Hours by their own Cookes, to which they are regularly called by a Bell, which Rings in the Morning for the Servants to turn out to their Work, and at 7 for Breakfast, at 12 for Dinner, at a propper Time for them to leave their Work, & again at 8 in the Evening for each to repair to their House, after which no Noise is heard.

Notwithstanding they have so large a Family to regulate, Mrs. Schuyler also seeth to the Manufactoring of suitable cloathing for all the Servants, all of which is the Produce of their own Plantation ; in which she is helped by her Mamma & Miss Polly. The whole is done with less Combustion & Noise than many Families who have not more than 4 or 5 Persons in the whole Family. This whole Family seems ever to be still, quiet, & serene, notwithstanding its magnitude & the multiplicity of Buisness which they have to transact. Mr. & Mrs. Schuyler seem always to be at leisure, & never disturb Company with being busied & hurried more than if they had nothing to do. What added to my surprise, after observing the regulations of this wonderfull Family, was to understand that Mrs. Schuyler was born of & brought up in

a Rich & genteel Family in the City of York, where her Education must have been so vastly different from & noway connected with the Life which she now leads; nor doth she now cast off the Mein & Behaviour of the genteel bred Woman, but the whole Family live & dress in a very genteel manner, so far as gentility is consistent with Reason.

It is not from any Parsimonious Views that Mr. Schuyler or his Wife employ themselves in many Matters which is uncommon for People of their Fortune, but they often told me when I expressed my Surprise at it, that this was their greatest Pleasure, & they would both in passionate Terms lament & pity the Fate of those People of Fortune who were so blinded by their Education as not to discover some such Expedient to employ those many leisure Hours which they are daily racking their Invention to kill & which Nevertheless hang heavy on their Hands. Nor do either of them wholly slight the diversions of the Town; but frequently they were wont, while the Town was in Peace, to spend a few Days at a time in the City, & sometimes they make small excursions in the Country.

Mr. Schuylers Mansion House is a large, grand, and magnificent building, built partly of stone & the rest brick; most beautifully scituate upon an Eminence on the east Bank of what is called Hackensack River. On the West side of the River, by the Water, is the Road which leads to Hackensack, Albany, &c., by which are a considerable number of Buildings, & two Churches, the one a Dutch & the other an English Church, built by Mr. Schuylers Father. These, together with the Buildings, standing by a straight & level Road, and the beautifull Groves on the Eminences on the West, afford a most delightfull prospect from the Front of Mr. Schuyler's House. On the back part of the House is a large, neat Garden, built partly for Ornament & partly for

Convenience. At the back of the Garden is a prodigious high Hill covered with Woods. The House hath a sufficiency of outhouses on the South, & on the North, at a little distance, are his Barns, sufficient to accomodate his Farm, which by accounts is three Miles across. In fine the Scituation of this Gentleman's Dwelling, both for convenience and Pleasure, is the best that ever I beheld. On the East of his House at the Distance of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile he hath two Parks in which are about 150 or 160 Deer ; but I could get no sight of them, as they never came out of the Woods except in the Night.

Mr. Schuyler was descended from the Family of Schuylers which rendered so much good Service to N. England, as mentioned in Hutchinson's History. There are many of the same Family at Albany now, and at New York. This Gentlemans Grandfather, in but tolerable circumstances, moved from Albany to the place above described (the Township is called New Barbadoes), where he accidentally discovered the Copper Mines now possessed by his Grand Child (mentioned 22^d of June), out of which he got great Wealth & the Family carrying on the Works have made daily additions to the Estate till they have all the Lands contiguous & are now immensely Rich. The whole Family have been Noted for their Liberality to the Publick, but especially to the Poor & Indigent ; & it is remarkable that of the great Number I daily while there heard speak of the Family, none spoke otherwise than with respect & Love.

What can hinder this Man from being happy unless he had a most discontented Mind ?

A Man that in Mr. Schuyler's Scituation could not be happy deserves no longer to continue on the Earth. I remember once to have asked him if he thought himself Happy ; he replied, Yes. I then asked if he thought any Man more happy than himself ? He calmly answered that

possibly some might be, for he had his gloomy Hours ; but that the Man that was more Happy than himself was happy indeed, but that he imagined & made no doubt that many were as happy.

This last part I doubt of ; for tho some have, to outward appearance, sufficient to make them happy, yet few have that Temper and disposition & Temper of Mind which is the chief Blessing enjoyed by this Gentleman. Without making any more remarks (for I cant do justice to what I have endeavoured) I must declare the Few days spent in this Family to be the most happy of any that I was ever sensible of enjoying in my Life.

While I was with him we contracted a most intimate Friendship, & he on parting desired me to visit him as often as possible & on his part engaged to do the same. He also made me a very generous offer with regard to being inoculated with the small Pox, which I believe I shall accept when I have served my Country through this Campaign.

As I returned to York, I saw the Signals for the arrival of more than 20 Ships hoisted on Staten Island.

June 30, 1776. I went to a German Church in the fore Noon with Lieut^s Drew & Alden and Ensigns Bradford & Cotton. As I did not understand the Language, I could not determine as to the abilities of the Priest, but he seemed a poor Orator. In the afternoon we went to the Quaker Meeting & sat about 2 Hours, and nothing being said we set off & left them, took a Bowl or two of Grog & return'^d to Camp. On my return saw Thos Covil, who informed me of my friends, Webb, &c., in the Whale Boats. There were brought to town last night 4 Officers & 16 Sailors who came up in a Barge to sound the Chanell, & were fired upon by one of our Forts & brought too. Yesterday arrived at the Hooke 130 Sail of Ships & Transports. Those Persons

who had been intrusted with the Countersign had been so imprudent as to give it out to others, that it was no difficult Matter even for a Stranger to get it, & Centuries were often imposed upon & abused when on their Posts; several were fired upon & one wounded. Therefore it was directed that the Countersign should be delivered to none but Colonels & Officers of Guards; by this Means I hope we shall be in more safety.

July 1st, 1776. In the fore Noon spent some time very agreeably with some young Ladies of my acquaintance in the City.

In the Afternoon took the Alarm Post assigned for our Reg^t about 2 Miles up the River from our Incampment.

2^d. Part of the Fleet came up to the Watering Place on Staten Island in plain sight of the City; this caused the signals for an Alarm. The Inhabitants are in great Confusion, removing from the City, &c. Orders were issued that no Man, either Officer or Soldier, should be absent from Camp without leave in Wrighting from the Commander of the Regiment.

3^d. More of the Ships are daily coming up; some of the Enemy landed on Long Island Yesterday, but were repulsed.

4. Went to the City in the forenoon. The Militia from all Parts are daily coming in; many have arrived. This Morning our Brigade had liberty to fire each Man two Rounds of Cartridge at a mark; we accordingly turned out and marched to a suitable Place. The first Fire was made singly, in which one — of Cap^t Hamblens Company in our Reg^t accidentally lost his Life. He, thinking that his Piece had snaped, was taking it from his Face to cock it again when the Piece went off, kicked him in the Breast, which instantly killed him.

5. Went on Guard at the Grand Battery. Capt. Wiley

of Col. McDouglas Reg^t commanded the Guard ; he was a most agreeable Gentleman, & with him I spent the Time very agreeably.

6. Have the News of the United Colonies being Declared free & independent States by the Congress ; may they be able to support themselves free & Independent, and never again be brought under the Yoke of Bondage by Cunning & designing Men.

The whole Choir of our Officers, together with Col. Baldwin & the chief of his Officers, went to a Publick House to testify our Joy at the happy news of Independence. We spent the afternoon merily in playing at Bowles for Wine ; I was by good fortune set clear of the whole Recconing. Before we departed an Accidental Misunderstanding happened, in which I gained the applause of each Individual.

July 7, 1776, Sunday. Simeon Chubbuck, my waiter, is very ill of the Camp disorder. As our chief Dependance was on him for help, wee are in great confusion. It not being proper for the officers to leave the Camp, I did not, as usual, attend on Service till the afternoon. A Preacher, one Davids, came to hold forth for us under the Trees ; he preached from John 14 C. 6 V.,—made out miserably in my opinion, tho he gave general satisfaction.

The great Number of Prisoners confined in the Jail made it Necessary to keep a Strong Guard to keep them in due Subjection ; this guard had been kept for considerable Time. Serg^t Sprague of our Company happening to be on this Guard, an Insurrection was made among the Prisoners, & one of them named Armstrong fired at the Lieu^t of the Guard & was just about to kill the Sheriff of the City when Serg^t Sprague shot him dead on the Spot, for which he was highly applauded. This calmed the Insurgents, & they were subdued.

July 8, 1776. Nothing material happened.

9th. In the afternoon went to the City & engaged a Gentleman to teach a Number of us the French Language. Visited Miss Betsy Grim & Lieu^t. Hayward.

This afternoon the Declaration of the Independence of the 13 American States was read to the Several Brigades. It was received with Joy, which they severally testified by three Cheers.

10th. Orders were Issued for our Brigade to be in readiness at 4 o'clock tomorrow Morning for a March. We all imagined that we were designed to make an Attack upon the Enemy on Staten Island, but on farther consideration we had reason to doubt of it, as no particular Orders were Issued with Respect to our Bagage, which would be Necessary to take with us if this was the Intention of the General.

Last Night the Statue on the Bowling Green representing George Ghwelfth alias George Rex (described June 19th) was pulled down by the Populace. In it were 4,000 Pounds of Lead, & a Man undertook to take of 10 oz of Gold from the Superficies, as both Man & Horse were covered with Gold Leaf. The Lead, we hear, is to be run up into Musquet Balls for the use of the Yankies, when it is hoped that the Emanations of the Leaden George will make as deep impressions in the Bodies of some of his red Coated & Torie Subjects, & that they will do the same execution in poisoning & destroying them, as the superabundant Emanations of the Folly & pretended Goodness of the real George have made upon their Minds, which have effectually poisoned & destroyed their Souls, that they are not worthy to be ranked with any Beings who have any Pretensions to the Principles of Virtue & Justice; but would to God that the unhappy contest might be ended without putting us to the disagreeable Necessity of sending them to dwell with those beings

for the Company of whom alone their Tempers & dispositions are now suitable.

11th. At 4 in the Morning (the usual time of taking our Alarm Posts) we appeared on the Parade, & were led by Gen^l Heath & Brigade Major Henly to Reconnoitre the adjacent advantageous Posts, that we might be better acquainted with the Scituation of the ground and be able to take advantage thereof whenever we should be called to action. We marched to Turtle Bay, about 3 Miles, & in our March had several sham Engagements, &c.; then returned to Camp about 11 o'clock, almost starved.

In the afternoon I went to the City to School.

12. Went on Fatigue at the Grand Battery. Several Deserters from the Enemy informed that it was the Intention of the Enemy to have sent 5 Ships up the N. River to stop the Water Communication between Albany & N. York. This was confirmed by the Circumstance of 4 Boats having come further up the Harbour Yesterday than common, as was supposed to sound the Bay.

In the afternoon a fine Breeze arose at S. W., & the Tide being favourable at the same Time we soon discovered 2 Ships & 3 Tenders making for the Town, whereupon we repaired as soon as possible each one to their several alarm posts; but before I got from the City our Batteries began to play upon them. I stoped to observe them, but found that our Shot chiefly fell short of them, but saw several shot strike the larger Ship; one Tender was obliged to put back. On my arrival at the Camp I found the Tents all struck, as the Enemy by seeing them might fire on the Camps; however, they had knowledge of the place, & before I got ten Rods from it they had got abreast of the Incampment; but as they were under quick way their shots fell chiefly to the Northward, & many of them went over my head, & 3 or 4 struck within 20 Rods

of me. The Reg^t had gone to their Alarm Post. Before I got to the Alarm Post, being behind a hill, I discovered a Ball which had hit on the opposite side of the hill & was hoping over it. I saw that it was in a direction that would bring it very near my Waiter (Simeon Chubbuck), who was about 5 or 6 Yards before me. I hallowed to him. He had just Time to discover & dodge it, but it passed him at not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ Yard distance at the height of his Breast. Before this I was not in the least intimidated, but must confess that on seeing so narrow a chance of a Young Mans Life for whom I had a very great Regard, I had feelings different from what I before had. The Ball struck a Post in a fence on the opposite side of the Road, knocked it down, & then proceeded on its course. By the slow Motion which it had when I first discovered it I thought it would stop in a few Rods, but I immediately traced it for more than 20 Rods but could find nothing of it. I then proceeded to the Alarm Post; Sim was so weak that he went but a little farther & returned to Camp. Before any of our Reg^t (as they were but a small distance before me) arrived to our Alarm Post, the Ships had past it; in their Way many Balls passed very near them, & one killed a Cow at a very small distance from them. This was the only Life which was taken away by their Cannon, but by the carelessness of our own Artillery Men Six Men were killed with our own Cannon, & several others very badly wounded.

It is said that several of the Company out of which they were killed were drunk, & neglected to Spunge, Worm, & stop the Vent, and the Cartridges took fire while they were raming them down.

The Cannon from the City did but very little execution, as not more than half the Number of the Men belonging to them were present. The others were at their Cups & at

their usual place of abode, Viz., on the Holy Ground ; but from Red Hooke, which was at a very great distance, they fired very well, & from Powles Hook they Hulled them several Times. What particular Dammage we did can't yet learn. They have gone up the River, but will be stoped about . . . Mile up by Fort Montgomery. After all this bustle, toward Night the Eagle, with Admiral Lord Howe on board, who had been several Days at the Hooke, came up & joined the other Ships at the Landing.

I was very unwell all day ; am in some fear lest I shall have the Camp disorder, which is now frequent in this Camp.

13. Not well ; staid in the Camp.

Sunday, 14. Still unwell. Almost the whole Reg^t are sick with the Camp Distemper ; our Reg^t is by far the most sickly of the whole Brigade, & I dare say of the whole Army. My waiter [reer]uits a little. No Meeting this Day. A flag this Afternoon from the Enemy came up the River with a Letter from Gen^l Howe to Gen^l Washington ; but as the Letter was directed to George Washington, Esq., they were sent back, & the Letter never opened nor received further than to read the superscription, when the Officer that went to wait on them returned it, telling them that he knew of no such Man at York.

July 15, 1776. Cap^t Allen & myself both warned for Guard. He drew Harrisons Brewery, & I drew the upper Barrack ; but as we were desirous to go together, I swaped with another officer. I saw Vauzile, our Pilot, when at Schuyler's Swamp ; he brought compliments from Mr. Schuyler & Family, with an Invitation to visit him. I shall not lose the first opportunity of paying a visit to this excellent Family ; but as it is expected that we shall soon have an Attack, it will be with great difficulty if I get liberty.

A second flagg came up this afternoon; cannot learn the Buisness.

16. The Guard came very late to relieve us; in the Afternoon our Colours & Standards were finished & brought home.

July 17, 1776. Staid in Camp; nothing remarkable.

18. Lieut. Webb & Mr. Baker from Hianeas (Hyannis) came to visit me. I am greatly rejoiced to hear of the Welfare of our Friends at home, tho I hear but little in particular.

I spend the afternoon very agreeably in reading a Voyage of Monsieur Viaud, &c., &c.

The State of New York have adopted the Resolves of the Congress respecting Independance, & made it Treason for any to conspire or Plot against the State.

19. I was on Fatigue in the City; building a Barricado to Broadway & another Street runing west from St. Pauls Church. Every Street around the Common, on the side of which is the Laboratory, is to be barricadoed, & many of the Works are nearly finished. After Duty was over, I went in quest of Lieu^t Webb & Mr. Bakers Vessell, but could find neither. Met with Lieu^t Hayward, & with him took an opportunity to survey the Fire Ships, — the Chiver du frieze & Ships preparing to sink in the River. The Fire Ships are well constructed, and may do execution; but the Chiver du frieze can be of little service, as it is too weakly constructed to do damage to a Vessell of any Strength.

The ships preparing to be sunk will be of vast expence, & I am doubtfull of their Success, as the Water in the Harbour where they will be of any service is very deep. Across these Ships are laid on each about 6 or 8 long Timbers pointed with Iron, to sink the ships when they shall run against them. The success of these must be left for time to determine. I took a view also of two rowe Gallies building

at the East End of the City. One of them is nearly ready for sailing; the other is still on the Stocks almost finished. Each are to carry a 32 p^r in the bow, besides small pieces in the sides; they are neatly built, resembling much the Ingravings of the Turkish Gallies, & if properly managed, may serve greatly to annoy the Enemy's Fleet. Spent the Evening in a Tavern on Golden Hill, & returned to my tent about 10 o'clock.

20. Cap^t Allen was ordered to take command of a party going to Kings Bridge, for 7 Days. I am the only Officer left with our Company. Several Flaggs came Yesterday & today from the Enemy, but no Dispatch was received, as the Gen^l was resolute not to receive any letter respecting his publick character unless it was properly directed; the officer said that Gen^l Howe regretted much that he had not arived a few Days sooner, as it might have saved great trouble if he had arived with the power he has vested in him before Independence was declared.

At the desire of Gen^l Howe verbally received, Gen^l Washington received the Adjutant Gen^l of the Ministerialists to an interview with him in the City, who brought the same letter from Gen^l Howe that had before been offered him; but Gen^l Washington still continued resolute not to receive it, notwithstanding he was earnestly desired to do it by, Adj^t Gen^l.

These behaved to each other with the greatest complisance; & the Adjutant Gen^l, after spending considerable time in Conference with Gen^l Washington, in which he ever gave him the title of Your Excellency, was conducted to his Boat, attended by a number of the Officers, &c., of the Army. Tis said that at his departure he was overheard highly to the honour of our Noble General.

In the afternoon had the Acc^t of Gen^l Lee's having de-

feated the Ministerialists at South Carolina, both by Sea & by Land under Gen. Clinton & Admiral Parker. The Engagement by Sea lasted for 6 Hours, and was important, as the Ships came to an Anchor very nigh a large Fort; the Fort did them great Dammage, destroyed a 36 Gun Ship, greatly damaged two capital Ships so that they are unfit for Service, killed great Numbers of the Men & drove them off. At the same time the Enemy's Land force were repulsed in endeavouring to Advance to attack the Rear of the fort while the Ships were playing upon them in front. The Enemy threw great Numbers of Shot at our fort from their Ships, and a large Number of Shells from a Bomb Ketch. The Bombs did little damage & the whole of our loss was no more than 10 killed & 22 wounded. The Gen^l (Lee) applauded his officers & Men in the highest Language for their good Conduct & bravery in the Action.

July 21, Sunday. Turned out at break of day (as usual) to take the Alarm Post. The Men of our Company vyed with each other in good behaviour. This gave me the greater satisfaction, as this Company formed a Compleat Contrast with the one that March before us & the one in our Rear (which, by the buy, are never well regulated, owing to the insensibility of the Officers).

Col^l Baily, having buisness of importance to transact at home, had a Furlough for 21 Days, & this day set off for N. England. An odd built Vessell, riged nearly like to a top-sail Shooner, called a Rowe Gallie, this day arrived from Connecticut. She carries two 18 p^{rs} in her Bow, besides 6 or 8 six p^{rs} on the Gunwale. 'T is reported several others are coming from Rhode Island, &c., who have been sent for to harrass the ships now up the River. No meeting this Day.

Monday, 22 July, 1776. Went to visit Lieu^t Webb, &c.

Went on board Mr. Bakers vessell, in which was Capⁿ Prince Ghorham.

23^d Went on Fatigue at St. Pauls Church for about an hour, then was sent for with my Party to go on board the Ships preparing to be sunk. Dined, according to engagement, with Mr. O Dougald & Monsieur Perry, Gentlemen of my acquaintance in the City. Saw the infamous Proclamation issued by Lord Howe & now made publick by order of the Congress, offering Pardon to those in any of the Colonies who will return to their Duty & acknowledge the Supremacy of Parliament. Lord Howe declares that he hath this power vested in him by Act of Parliament, & these are the Terms of accomodation offered by the English. But will Americans tamely submit to those merciless Tyrants who have already done their utmost to reduce them to a state of abject slavery? and will they acknowledge? What can they acknowledge? but that they have bravely stood forth in defence of those Rights & Priviledges which the God of Nature hath bestowed upon them, & which they may not give up (unless unable to support them) without affronting that being who delights in the Liberty & prosperity of all his Creatures?

24. Am a little unwell, yet I went to the City to carry a Letter which I had wrote to my Brother Joshua. Sent it by Mr. Baker. Saw Lieu^t Webb, who informed me of a Letter which was directed for me on board a Nantuckett vessell; but as Mr. Bailey was not on board I could not obtain it. Our Company are now about $\frac{1}{2}$ of them very low with the Camp Disorder, or Bloody Flux, which is very prevalent throughout the whole Army, & though it Emaciates them very much yet is not very mortal, as not more than one in our Reg^t has died with this disorder. I being some unwell with the above disorder have much trouble

& difficulty to see that the Sick are properly taken care of.

July 25. I am tolerably comfortable, though something weak. In the Evening I went to the City for my Letter, being very anxious to hear from my Friends, but could not obtain it, Mr. Bailey not being on board.

26. In the Morning a Report prevailed that the Ships up the River were coming down; but it proved only that they came down in order to take a Parcel of Sheep & a Quantity of Butter which the Tories had collected, & according to agreement the Ships were to meet them & take it off; but before the Ships arrived the Sheep & Butter together with several other small Articles were discovered, & as no owner appeared to lay claim to them they were secured. These Tories cannot yet be quelled, notwithstanding (as I am credibly informed) a large number (300) of them who had collected together a few days before the Ships went up were taken, & upon examination they confessed that by agreement with the infamous Wallace (the commander of one of the Ships) they were to assemble, destroy the 2 large Frigates which are building up the River, & Wallace was to support them with a Party sufficient for them to beat down all opposition while they could pillage the Country round about, & then, as I suppose, they were to retreat on board. Upon this the more ignorant Vulgar, who it appeared had been drawn into this Confederacy by the artfull persuasions of others worse abandoned than themselves, were dismissed under proper Restrictions; but the worst of them were some sent to the Mines in New England; others were sent to close confinement.

In the Evening Lieu^t Sears came home, & brought 4 Men, who appeared to be Gentlemen, whom he had taken the Night before in endeavouring to make their escape on board

the Men of War. Himself, as also the others that were in the Whale Boats, had taken a considerable Number of the Tories at different times endeavouring to make their Escape, & had delivered them to the Committee of the Town; but they had frequently dismissed them upon their Paroles, & in a short Time would make their escape, being more lucky than at first. Being disgusted with the proceedings of the Committee, whom he also suspected of Toryism, he determined & accordingly brought them to the Gen^l.

Joseph Egerton & Joseph Snell, two of our Company, the former the Cap^{ts} Clerk, were taken ill on the 21 Instant; & as they were now not fit to remain in tents, having a strong Fever, I carried to an uninhabited House, a small back room of which with much difficulty I had obtained for them, & appointed a Nurse from the Company.

I am still unwell with the Camp Disorder, but I have it very lightly.

Called for guard tomorrow, but excused on acc^t of my illness.

27. Not being able for Guard, I inspected the Camp & Hospital. Rec^d a Letter from my Mother, dated June 16.

28, *Sunday*. Being unable to attend Service, I tarried in Camp. A Number of our Rowe Gallies went up the River.

29. Rode to the City. Went on b^d a Nantucket Vessell in which my Letter came. Found that Prince Ghorham & Baker, by whom I had sent a Letter to my Brother, had not gone, as Bakers Vessell was taken for a Fire Vessell; but as they were going in this Vessell I let it pass. After spending considerable Time very agreeably, return^d. Visited Egerton & Snell; found them very ill.

By the Paper had the News of

Cetera desunt.

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